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[title page]

[illegible] OF THE [illegible] OF RELATIONSHIP AND [illegible]

Sir A. C. Ewing.

The principal terms of relationship used by the Maori are as follows:—

	System of indirectly	Aforesaid directly	Remarks.
Father	matua	papa	My father, papa; thy father, matua.
Mother	hāpai	pirīpi	My mother, pirīpi; thy mother, hāpai; his, her or their mother, hāpainga.
Grandfather ...	matua	papa.	
Grandmother ...	hāpai	pirīpi.	"
Brother Elder brother Younger brother	ai-whaka ...	ai-whaka (as in thy case) tāne, tuāne (boy or man), and tuāhine, tuāhine or tuāpapa (girl or woman).	
Sister ... Elder sister Younger sister	mapa-wahine ...	mapa-wahine (as in thy case) tuāhine, tuāhine or tuāpapa.	
Half-brother ...	ai-whaka	see brother.	
Half-sister ...	mapa-wahine	see sister.	
Husband	ai-marae, ai-whaka, ai-parapara.	waiwai-tāpairu, ai-marae (as in thy case), ai-whaka (also as a child).	Waiwai = Aparoa means the father of an adopted or a child's name to take the place of Aparoa.
Son-in-law ...	ai-marae, ai-whaka, ai-parapara.	see husband.	

	System of reciprocity	Achieved identity	Remarks
Wife	ngwangwa, ngak-ak; ngangak (if young)	ngak-ngwa, ngwangwa, ngak-ak; ngwa-ka (if young), or by name given by husband to wife at marriage	Ngak-ngwa means the mother of ngwa-ka, a child's name to take the place of ngwa.
1st wife	ngwangwa-kaiak ...	ngwa-ka	1st wife. Stands on right side of bed.
2nd wife ...	ngwa-wila	ngwa-wila	2nd wife. Stands on left side of bed.
2nd wife ...			2nd wife. Stands on right side of bed.
4th wife ...			4th wife. Stands on left side of bed.
Co-wife	ngwa-wiai	ngwa-wiai or ngwa-wiai.	
Son	ak-ngkai, ngwangi ...	ak-ngkai, ak-ka, ngwa-ka.	There are numerous gen. terms used by persons for small children, e.g., ak-ngkai (my shadow), ak-kaia kai (my grandson), ngwa-ngkai ni (my baby), ngwangi ngai (my little one), kipi-kaia ngwa-ki (a boy on God gave me).
Eldest son ...	ak-kaiwa	ak-kaiwa kai (mostly used).	
Youngest son ...	ak-kaingwai	ak-kaingwai kai (mostly used).	
Daughter ...	ngwa-kaia, ngwangwai ...	ngwa-ka, ngwa-ngwai.	
Eldest daughter ...	ngwa-kaiwa	ngwa-kaiwa (mostly used).	
Youngest daughter	ngwa-kaingwai ...	ngwa-kaingwai (mostly used).	
Father's brother ...	ak-ngkai	ngkai-ga (say man); ngkai-ga (girl, woman).	
Father's brother ...	ngkai ni kaia ...	kaia.	

601

	System of indemnity.	Attachment thereby.	Remarks.
Mother's father ...	... ...	... (boy and man); ... (girl and woman).	
Mother's mother ...	... or	...	
Father's brother ...	..., ...	...	
Father's elder brother	... ...	...	
Father's younger brother	... ...	...	
Father's sister ...	..., ...	...	
Mother's brother ...	... (boy and man); ... (girl and woman).	... (boy and man); ... (girl and woman).	
Mother's sister ...	... ...	...	
Father's brother's wife	... ...	...	
Father's sister's husband	... (boy and man); ... or ... (girl and woman).	... or ... (i.e., generation or relation to ... Children may ...	
Mother's brother's wife	... ...	...	
Mother's sister's husband	... or ...	... (i.e., if children, by name). Children may ...	Children common ... or relation.
Father's brother's son	... ...	...	
Father's brother's daughter	... ...	...	
Father's sister's son	... (boy and man); ... (girl and woman).	... (boy and man); ... (girl and woman).	
Father's sister's daughter	...	... (boy or man); ... (girl or woman).	

3: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1910 FL12 Masai FL12

601

	Spoken of indirectly.	Addressed directly.	Remarks.
Mother's brother's son	*ol-le-'ng-apu* or *ol-apu* (boy or man); *en-e-'ng-apu* or *eng-apu* (girl or woman).	*apula* (boy or man); *ngapulayu* (girl or woman).	
Mother's brother's daughter	*en-e-'ng-apu* ...	*ngapulayu* (boy or man); *ne-'ng-apu* (girl or woman).	
Mother's sister's son	*ol-le-'sōiwa* or *ol-lo-'sōiwa*.	by name. Rarely, *ava-apa*, etc., see brother.	
Mother's sister's daughter	*en-e-'sōiwa* or *en-o-'sōiwa*.	by name. Rarely, *ne-apa*.	
Son's son	*ol-akwi* (man); *okwi* or *kokw* (woman).	*akweiya* (man); *kokwo* (woman).	
Son's daughter ...	*eng-akwi* (man); *okwi* or *kokw* (woman).	*ngakweiya* (man); *kokwo* (woman).	
Daughter's son ...	*ol-akwi* (man); *okwi* or *kokw* (woman).	*akweiya* (man); *kokwo* (woman).	
Daughter's daughter	*eng-akwi* (man); *okwi* or *kokw* (woman).	*ngakweiya* (man); *kokwo* (woman).	
Wife's father ...	*ol-aputani*	*li-aputani* or *ol-aputani lai*.	
Wife's mother ...	*eng-aputani* ...	*na-aputani, eng-aputani ai* or *yeiyo*.	
Wife's brother... Wife's half-brother	*ol-aputani*	*li-aputani* or *ol-aputani lai*.	
Wife's sister ...	*e-sindani e-anyil* ...	*par-sindan* or *e-sindani ai*.	*le-anyil* or *e-anyil* means *honoured*.
Wife's half-sister	*e-sindani*	*par-sindan* or *e-sindani ai*.	
Wife's sister's husband	*ol-le-'sōiwa* or *ol-lo-'sōiwa*.	*menye-ilgunia* (or, if childless, by name).	
Husband's father	*ol-aputani* or *menye*	*li-aputani* or *papa*.	
Husband's mother	*eng-aputani* or *ilgoto*	*na-aputani* or *yeiyo*.	
Husband's brother	*e-sindani le-anyil* ...	*par-sindan* or *e-sindani lai*.	
Husband's half-brother	*e-sindani*	*par-sindan* or *e-sindani lai*.	

3: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1910 FL12 Masai FL12

601.

	Spoken of indirectly.	Addressed directly.	Remarks.
Husband's sister			
Husband's half-sister	*e-sindani*	*par-sindan* or *e-sindani ai.*	
Husband's brother's wife	*e-sindani*	*par-sindan* or *e-sindani ai.*	
Son's wife ...	*en-gerai*	*na-kerai.*	
Daughter's husband	*ol-aputani* (man); *eng-aputani* (woman).	*ol-aputani lai* (man); *eng-aputani ai* (woman).	
Brother's wife ...	*e-sindani e-angit* (man); *e-sindani* (woman).	*par-sindan* or *e-sindani ai.*	
Half-brother's wife	*e-sindani*	*par-sindan* or *e-sindani ai.*	
Sister's husband ...	*ol-aputani* (man or boy); *o-sindani le-angit* (girl or woman).	*ol-aputani lai*; *par-sindan* or *o-sindani lai.*	
Brother's son Half-brother's son	*ol-ayoni, en-gerai* ...	see son.	
Brother's daughter Half-brother's daughter	*en-dito, en-gerai* ...	see daughter.	
Sister's son ... Half-sister's son	*ol-ayoni, en-gerai* ...	see son.	
Sister's daughter Half-sister's daughter	*en-dito, en-gerai* ...	see daughter.	

When listening to Masai talking to one another it would often appear as if many of the terms of relationship used were the same as names of cattle, sheep, goats, and donkeys, etc. This is chiefly due to the fact that whenever a woman is brought into the family by marriage it is customary for her husband's relations and their wives to give her an animal to show that she is recognized as a member of the family. The giver and the recipient ever afterwards call one another after the animal which has been given, to which the particle *pa-* is prefixed.

601 431 [585]

3: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1910 FL12 Masai FL12

601 431 Thus, a man gives his brother's wife or his paternal uncle's wife, or his paternal uncle's son's wife a cow, a calf, or a lamb, and the terms of address used by the two, instead of being *par-sidan* or *yeiye*, as the case may be, are *pa-kitēg*, *pa-ashe*, or *pa-supea*; a father-in-law gives his daughter-in-law a calf, and the two call one another *pi-ashe*; and a paternal uncle gives his nephew's wife a she-goat and calls her *pa-kine*. Similarly a man's first wife usually presents each successive wife with [595] a calf on her marriage, and instead of using the term *na-ainé* when speaking to one another the two women say *pa-ashe*; a woman gives her husband's brother's wife a donkey as a wedding present, and the two women call one another *pa-sighiria*; and a mother-in-law selects a cow for her daughter-in-law some months after marriage, when she has learnt to keep house for her husband, and the form of address is *pa-kitēg*. This method of address is carried even further, and is used between men of the same family. A father, for instance, usually gives his son a bull when the boy is eight or nine years of age, and the two call one another *pa-oiāgōni* instead of *papa* and *li-ayōni*; a paternal uncle makes a similar present to his nephew, and the same form of address is used; an elder brother gives his younger brother a heifer, and the two call one another *pa-'n-dauwo*; and paternal cousins often use the terms *pa-oro* or *pa-merrgesh* when talking to each other.

The following terms are found: *pa-kitēg*, the bullock or the cow; *pa-moāgi*, the bullock; *pa-kishu*, the cows; *pa-oiāgōni*, the bull; *pa-'n-dauwo*, the heifer; *pa-bukōni*, the bull calf; *pa-ashe*, the calf; *pa-kwo*, *pa-oro*, or *pa-siltima*, the he-goat; *pa-kine*, the she-goat; *pa-laiela*, the kid; *pa-kerr*, the ewe; *pa-merrgesh*, the ram; *pa-sighiria*, the donkey; *pa-supea*, the ewe lamb; *pa-mao*, the twin kids.

With one exception, a present of this nature is not made, nor are these terms of address used, outside the father's family. Thus, a brother cannot give his sister a heifer so that the two might call one another *pa-'n-dauwo*, because if the sister marries she will leave the family; a maternal uncle cannot give his nephew a bull and call him *pa-oiāgōni*, and maternal cousins may not address one another by the terms *pa-oro*, etc. The exception to this rule is made when a man marries. He then presents his father-in-law with a bullock and his mother-in-law with an ewe, and the terms of address are *pa-kitēg* and *pa-kerr*. These presents have nothing [583] to do with the cattle paid for the bride.

604 578 754 A maternal uncle (*ol-apu*) exercises great influence over his nephews, as it is believed that if he were to curse them they would die. He can at any time stop a fight in which one of his nephews is engaged by merely calling on his nephew to desist, as the nephew would be afraid of his right arm withering if he were to [593] disobey. This power is to a certain extent reciprocal, and if a man were to start beating his wife he would have to stop if his maternal nephew ordered him to do 593 626 754 so. A father and any old man of the family can also usually stop a fight by telling the combatants to desist, but they are not necessarily listened to. A mother has more influence, and if her son refuses to obey her, she strikes her stomach and says, "You were born in this"; whereupon the son is said to sicken, and can only recover when his mother makes a rope of fibre which she hangs round his neck.

3: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1910 FL12 Masai FL12

Besides the power of a maternal uncle to stop a fight, he has also the right to take anything which belongs to his nephew. If the uncle desires anything that is the property of his nephew's father, the nephew must buy it from his father, who will at once give it up when he knows for whom it is required. This power of taking property is reciprocal, and in fact applies to all persons who address one another as *ol-apu*, *ol-le-'ng-apu*, etc. A nephew, for instance, can go to his maternal uncle's kraal, and if his uncle is absent, he can slaughter a goat or drink his uncle's milk, and nothing would be said. He cannot, however, drive off a cow without his uncle's sanction, but permission would not be refused. Other relatives have likewise some power of taking property. A boy or man can go to his father's or paternal uncle's Enal and take or demand a goat or milk, and in all probability nothing would be said, but if it were done repeatedly the father or uncle would express dissatisfaction or refuse altogether. A man may also go to his sister's husband or wife's brother (*ol-aputani*) and take anything, but an account is kept and the debt has to be returned. If a man is poor it is customary for him to live with one of his brothers-in-law (*ol-aputani*) and help to look after the stock. He is fed for his trouble, and as payment receives one out of every pair of twin goats born.

First cousins and second cousins may not marry, but there is no objection to third cousins marrying if the relationship is no nearer than *ol-le-'ăitwa* (or *en-e-'ăitwa*). Thus, a man's son's son's son may not marry the man's brother's son's son's daughter, nor may a man's son's son's son marry the sister's son's son's daughter, but there would be no objection to a man's son's son's son marrying the brother's daughter's daughter's daughter or the sister's daughter's daughter's daughter. Likewise though a man's son's son may not marry the man's maternal uncle's son's son's daughter, he may marry the maternal uncle's son's daughter's daughter. These unions are always contingent on the two parties not belonging to the same sub-clan.[1] The rules of consanguinity and affinity which regulate marriage also apply to the sexual intercourse of warriors with immature girls before marriage and to the rights of hospitality after marriage. No warrior may select as his

[1] The Masai are divided into five clans: *Il-Aiser*, *Il-Mekpusa*, *Il-Molusu*, *Il-Mid'pus*, and *Il-Turtsaro*. Each clan is again divided into sub-clans, *e.g.*, the *Il-Aiser* contain amongst others the following: *In-gidokyi* and *Il-Purkesti*. No man belonging to the *In-gidokyi* sub-clan may take as wife the daughter of a man of the same sub-clan, but he may marry the daughter of the *Il-Purkesti* or he may marry a daughter of the *Il-Mekpusa*, *Il-Molusu*, *Il-Mid'pus*, or *Il-Turtsaro* clans. Members of the various sub-clans are usually to be found in all the districts and sub-districts. Marriages are not affected by geographical considerations, and a man has the same lawful marital relations in all the sub-districts as he has in his own home sub-district.

In his recent book, *The Ethnology of the A-Kamba and other East African Tribes* (Cambridge, 1910), Hobley states (p. 121) that the restrictions governing marriage amongst the Masai are far from simple, and he gives a number of complicated instances. As a matter of fact the rules are quite simple if one remembers (i) that though the clans are not exogamous, the sub-clans into which the clans are divided are exogamous; and (ii) that no man may marry a nearer relation than a third cousin, and then only if the terms of address used are *ol-le-'ăitwa* and *en-e-'ăitwa*.

3: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1910 FL12 Masai FL12

sweetheart (*e-sanja*) a girl of the same sub-clan as himself, or one who is more nearly related to him than third cousin, and only then if the terms of address used are *ol-le-'sŏtwa* and *en-e-'sŏtwa*; and no traveller may cohabit with the wife of a member of his own age-grade if that man is married to one of his near relations, or to a daughter of his sub-clan.[1]

The payment of the bridal price authorizes a Masai to reckon the children which his wives bear as his own; it further gives him a full measure of control over both his wives and children, and they do all the household work and tend and look after his herds and flocks. But though individual marriage is recognised, sexual communism or something very like it prevails between all the men of one age-grade and the women of the corresponding age-grade, subject to the rules of exogamy and relationship, which forbid a man to marry or have sexual intercourse with a woman of his own clan or with a near relative. In other words the Masai may be said to live in a state of group marriage, based on the organisation of the whole community in age-grades, and restricted by the exogamy of the sub-clans and the rules regarding incest.

If a man is knowingly guilty of incest, or has sexual intercourse with a daughter of his own sub-clan, he is punished by his relations, who flog him and slaughter some of his cattle. If he fornicates or commits adultery with a daughter of a member of his own age-grade, he is punished by the members of his age-grade. His kraal is destroyed, he is severely beaten, and a number of his oxen are laughtered. If a warrior or boy commits adultery with a wife of a man belonging to his father's age-grade, he is solemnly cursed by the members of that age-grade. Unless he pays the elders two oxen, one for them to eat and the other to enable them to buy honey wine, and prays them to remove the curse, it is supposed he will die.

If a man unintentionally commits incest—and it is quite conceivable that a man might not know his fourth or fifth cousin, for instance, should the two live in different districts—he has to present a cow to the girl's relations in order to "kill the relationship" (*a-ar eng-anyit*).

A man must abstain from having sexual intercourse with his wife as soon as she becomes pregnant, and he may not again have connection with her until the child cuts the two middle incisor teeth of its upper and lower jaws. Should this rule be broken it is believed that the child will never be strong. In the event of a man having intercourse with a pregnant woman, and thereby causing her to abort, he must submit to a punishment which is called *ol-kishuroto*. All the women of the neighbourhood collect together and, having stripped, seize the guilty person and flog him, after which they slaughter as many of his cattle as they can, strangling and suffocating the animals with their garments.

Other occasions when the sexes may not have sexual intercourse are when

[1] For the rules regarding hospitality see *The Masai*, p. 287. An age-grade consists of all those men who are circumcised at one of the four festivals held during every 7½ years. See *The Masai*, p. 262.

3: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1910 FL12 Masai FL12

poison is being made and when honey wine is being brewed. During the time that a man is making poison (eight days) he is treated almost as an outcast. He must leave his house at 4 a.m. and not return till 7 p.m., when he must rub clay on his body. He may not eat when the sun is above the horizon; he may only relieve nature far away from the kraal; and he must sleep alone. If he were to break any of these rules it is believed that the poison would be useless. When honey wine is to be brewed a man and a woman are selected for the purpose, neither of whom has had sexual intercourse for two days. A hut is set apart for them to live in until the honey wine is ready for drinking (six days), during which time they may not sleep together. As soon as the honey wine is ready they receive payment, and go to their respective homes. Were they to have sexual intercourse during the six days that the honey wine is brewing, it is believed that the wine would be undrinkable, and the bees that made the honey would fly away.

834 278 834 273

Mothers-in-law and their sons-in-law (*eng-aputani*) must avoid one another as much as possible, and if a son-in-law enters his mother-in-law's hut she must retire into the inner compartment and sit on the bed, whilst he remains in the outer compartment; they may then talk. Own brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law (*o-sindani le-anyil* and *e-sindani e-anyil*) must also avoid one another, though this rule does not apply to half-brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law (*o-sindani* and *e-sindani*). This rule is possibly due to the fact that when a man dies his own brother may not marry his widow, though there is no objection to his half-brother (paternal) or one of his paternal cousins taking her to wife. In fact, the only person who may marry a widow is one of the deceased husband's half-brothers or paternal cousins. It frequently happens, however, that widows never re-marry, but live with their children in the kraal of the eldest living brother of their late husband, who becomes the guardian of their children.

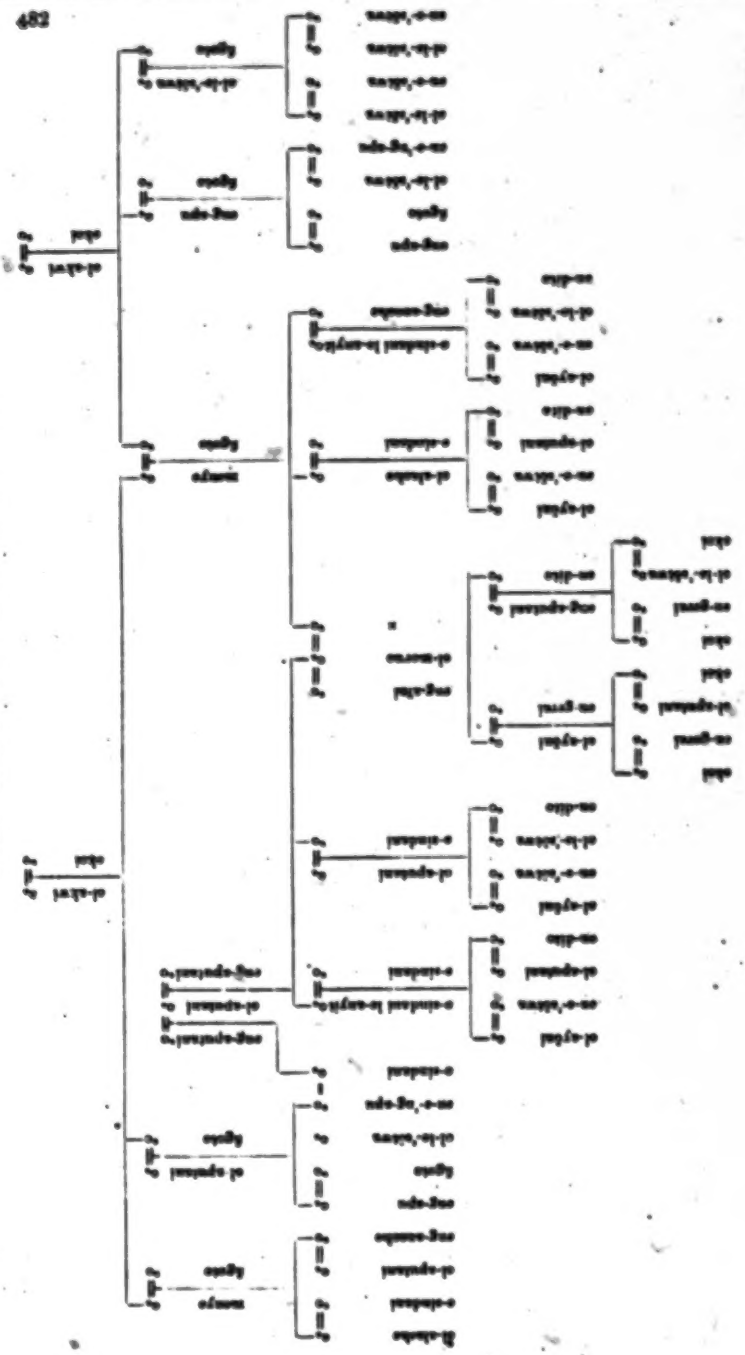
606 607 606 607 587 [591]

Divorce is almost unknown amongst the Masai, and it is only barren women who may be divorced. But if a woman is barren it is usual for her husband to give her some of his children by another wife to bring up. Daughters are usually selected; but if there are several sons the youngest and the youngest but two may be given to the stepmother. When a barren woman is a bad woman and is disliked by her husband and his other wives, she may be divorced, in which case her father or his heirs must refund the cattle paid for her, and she is at liberty to re-marry.

586

601

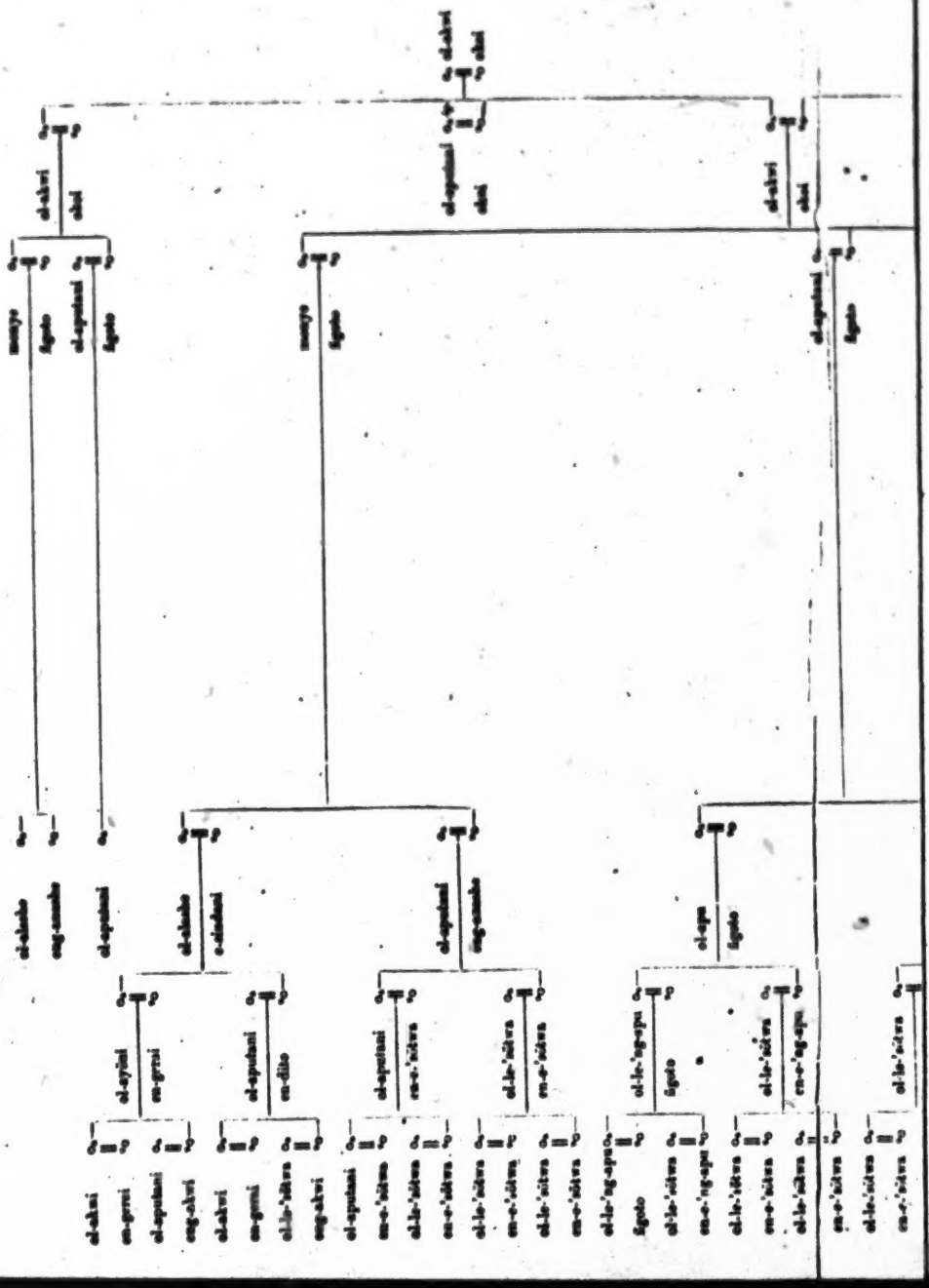
MASAI SYSTEM OF RELATIONSHIP.



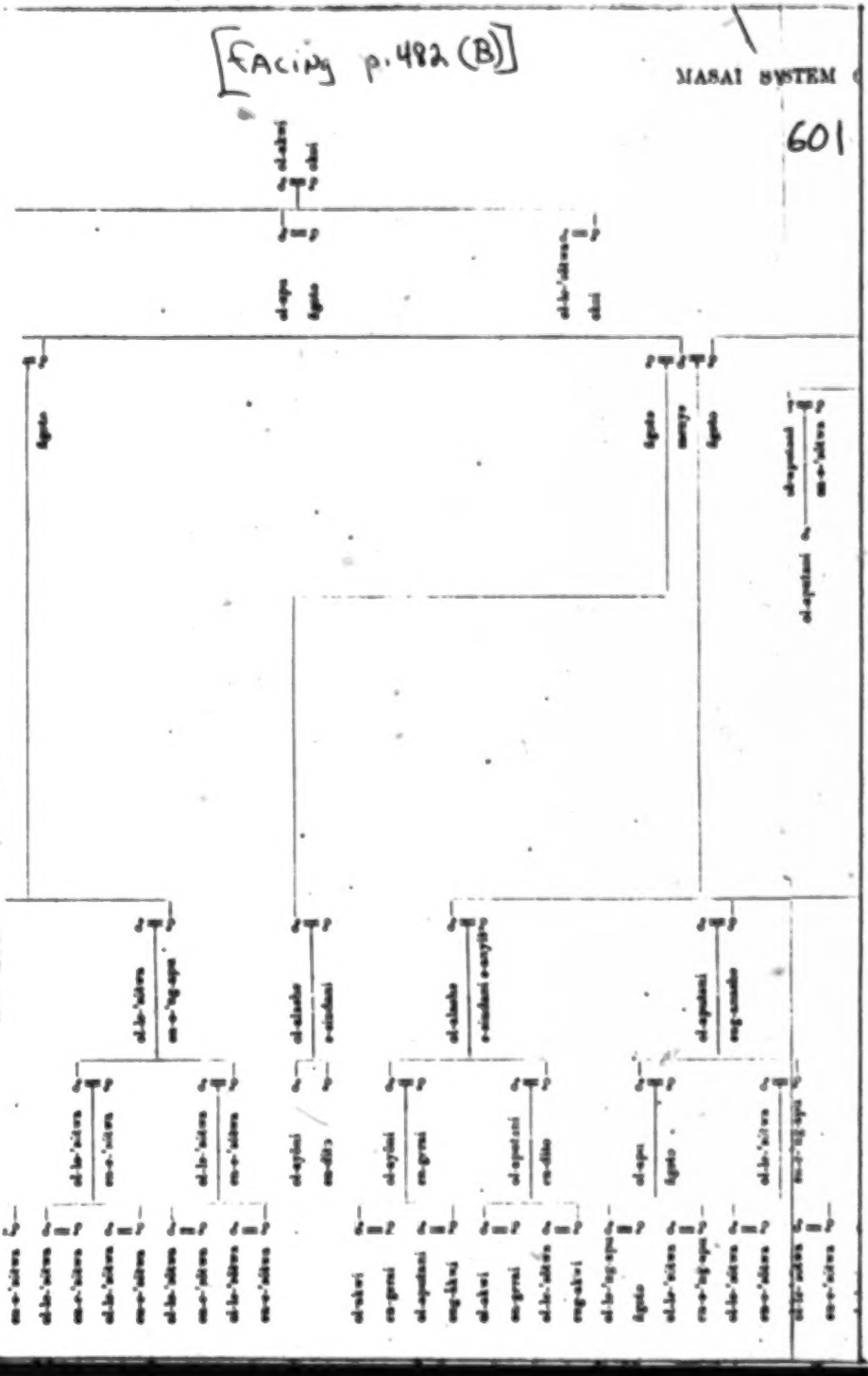
p. 482
facing p. 482 (A)
facing p. 482 (B)
facing p. 482 (C)
fa cing p. 482 (D)
facing p. 482 (E)

Positions of kinship chart entitled "Masai System of Relationship." /p. 482 & ff./

[facing p. 482 (A)]



[Facing p. 482 (B)]



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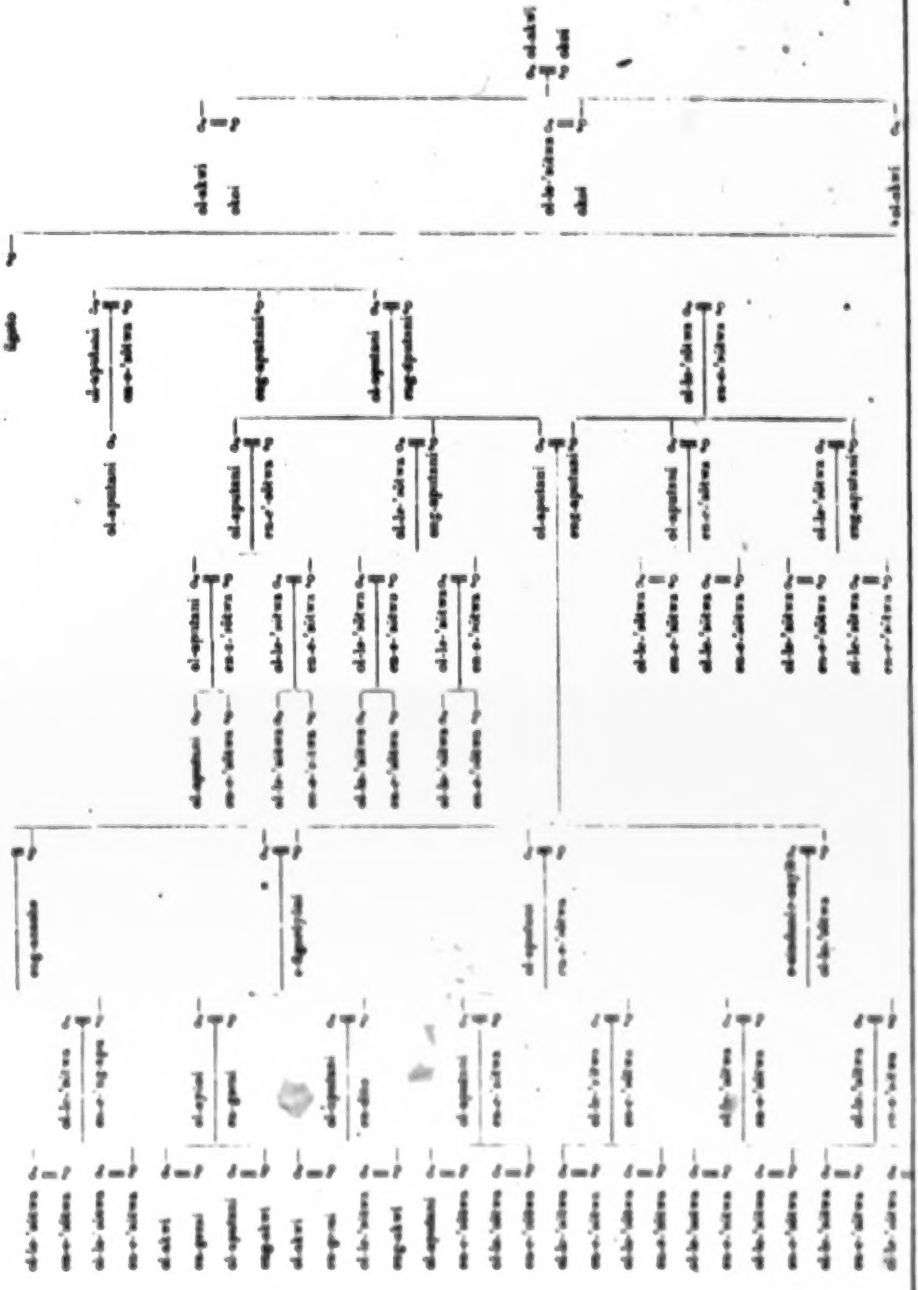
ASAI SYSTEM OF RELATIONSHIP. [Facing p. 482(C)] 601



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[FACING p. 482(2)]

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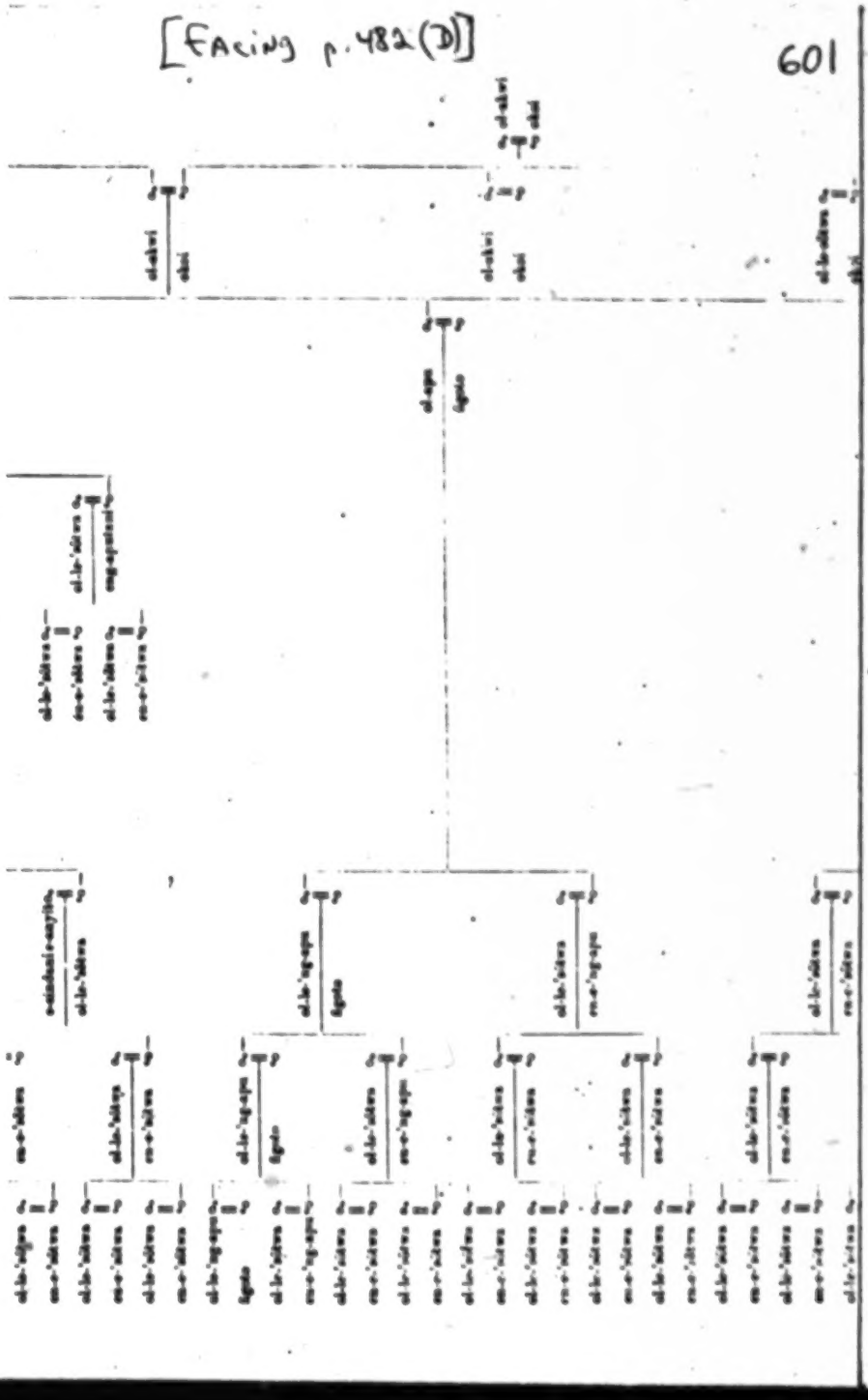

3: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1910 FL12 Masai FL12

[facing p. 482(E)]

601